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ABSTRACT

Teacher morale may be deteriorating because the intrinsic rewards for teaching are lower now than they used to be. High job morale, or "vocational adaptation," comes from an optimal relationship between job adjustment and personal fulfillment. Today's low teacher morale indicates low vocational adaptation. Teachers in the past had higher vocational adaptation, despite low salaries, because they got intrinsic rewards from helping children develop, receiving community and parent respect, and achieving personal fulfillment in an ethically concerned profession. A multistate survey of vocational adaptation among 125 male and 125 female teachers in private elementary and secondary schools, together with other information, shows that these intrinsic rewards are lower today. Children are harder to teach, parents and community give less respect, and teachers feel they are realizing less of their potential. Teachers' lower intrinsic rewards may be behind their widespread push for higher extrinsic rewards, such as higher salaries, but teacher morale remains low even when such rewards go up. These findings suggest teachers should enlarge their psychological diagnosis skills for students and their definitions of being a teacher, and headmasters and boards of trustees should pay more attention to faculty morale and self-fulfillment. (RW)

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Faculty Burnout, Morale, and Vocational Adaptation

Douglas Heath

National Association of Independent Schools

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FACULTY BURNOUT,
MORALE, AND VOCATIONAL ADAPTATION

by

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Monographs on current issues in educational philosophy and practice

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About the Author

Douglas Heath is professor of psychology at Haverford College, researcher, author, and consultant to schools and colleges. He has visited numerous independent schools and has, with NAIS's director of studies, David Mallery, led many NAIS workshops for teachers. More recently, he has been working with board chairmen, heads of schools, and directors of admission.

Professor Heath has been studying the development of healthy persons in the United States and abroad for more than 20 years, the results and implications of which he has reported in Growing Up in College: Liberal Education and Maturity, Humanizing Schools: New Directions, New Decisions, and Maturity and Competence: A Transcultural View.

Faculty Burnout,

Morale, and Vocational Adaptation

At the end of an independent school faculty workshop, a young woman came up to me with tears in her eyes. "I've been teaching at this school for three years. I'm dying. I want to teach. How do I stay alive?"

Shortly after returning to teaching, a middle school teacher wrote to me, "I'm sitting here trying to figure out exactly why I left teaching two years ago. I left with a bitter taste in my mouth. Where were the students who were so eager to learn just a few short years ago? Now when I walk into a classroom I feel I am there to earn respect; it isn't there for me to work to maintain. I'm too young to lose contact with my students."

A recent study by the National Education Association reported that one third of the teachers sampled were very dissatisfied and that 41 per cent would not enter teaching if they were to begin their careers again. Writing in Education Today, NEA president Willard McGuire called teacher burnout a "major new malady . . . that threatens to reach epidemic proportions if it isn't checked soon. . . . It has already stricken thousands of sensitive, thoughtful and dedicated teachers--teachers who are abandoning their profession."

Asked by Teachers College, at Columbia University, to identify their most pressing concerns, the super-

intendents of New York City's most affluent suburban schools said, "Low teacher morale."

This malady has spread beyond school teachers. In 1979, the academic dean of a western college asked me to work with his faculty. "What can I do?" I asked. He replied, "They are feeling very low. They need some inspiration." His comment is not atypical; a survey of 4,000 professors in 161 colleges reported that "academics don't think they are teaching well. . . . They are restless, dissatisfied, and strikingly lack confidence in the efficacy and organization of the institutions over which they preside."

What is this malady? What does being a teacher mean today? What are the principal satisfactions and dissatisfactions of teachers? Are they more dissatisfied than other professionals? And what might the answers to these questions have to tell teachers, school heads, and boards of trustees?

Searching for answers

Let us begin our search for answers by noting what 200 experienced teachers from all types of independent schools from Maine to Louisiana, New York to Wisconsin, said in David Mallery's workshops for teachers in 1979 in answer to his query "What questions are particularly alive, vivid, looming on bad days, stimulating and engaging on good ones?" Let me cite every tenth answer recorded in the workshops.

> How does a teacher know when he or she is burned out?
>
> Must I always set new challenges? Can I reflect on and enjoy my successes?
>
> How do I distinguish between fads and significant new trends in education?
>
> How do you deal with the political and social revolutions--where is my place?

How do I increase my skills in evaluating the performance of others and increasing their teaching strengths?

Am I doing the job? (Reaching kids?)

How can I remain effective when the values, standards, and lifestyles of the school or community are different from my own?

Is what we're teaching essential?

How do we develop morality in youngsters?

Note that these teachers are not primarily concerned about the more objective issues of curriculum, facilities, specialized training, or even salaries. They have more elusive and hard-to-define concerns: fulfillment, identity, effectiveness, personal values, and the relevance and worth of what they are teaching to the lives of their students.

Such workshops, as well as visits to independent and public schools and colleges, have given me further glimmers about what it means to be a teacher today.[1] Earlier research with 106 thirty-three-year-old physicians, lawyers, teachers, social workers, accountants, ministers, musicians, and others had identified 28 job-related and personal attributes that contribute to one's vocational adaptation (see below).

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[1]The research I report on adult professionals was initiated on 68 men and was supported by grants from the Spencer Foundation, the W. Clement Stone Foundation, and the National Institute of Mental Health, #11227. A second group of 38 men was subsequently added to increase the reliability of the findings. I do not have comparable data on professional women because the college in which these 106 men were first studied 15 to 25 years ago did not have female students. Other studies suggest that these findings may also hold for women.

To adapt well vocationally means more than simply adjusting or accommodating to the demands of one's job. One also creates a way of life that fulfills one's strongest needs, interests, and talents. A teacher may adjust to a school's demands competently but still be maladapted vocationally, perhaps at the expense of fulfilling more personal needs. Or a teacher may find teaching to be personally fulfilling but be very maladjusted to the demands of his or her particular school. High morale, or a pervasive sense of well-being, occurs when there is an optimal relation between adjustment and self-fulfillment.

Information about the vocational adaptation of 125 men and 125 women (including some who had participated in David Mallery's workshops) who teach in elementary and secondary boarding and day schools in all parts of the country except the far west provides some hunches about what it means to be a teacher today. Since the addition of more people to the total number of participants has not altered the basic findings, perhaps similar results would be found if more representative samplings of teachers were done. I have not yet secured as large and diverse a group of public school and college teachers to whom to compare those of the independent schools.

Vocational adaptation and its core attributes

In our study of the 106 professionals, each participant was asked to rate his degree of satisfaction with each of the following 28 job-related and personal attributes, ranging from 5 (very satisfied) to 1 (very dissatisfied). The sum of the ratings for the 28 items roughly measures overall satisfaction with one's vocation. Scores may range from 28, indicating severe vocational maladaptation, to 140, indicating unexcelled--and unbelievable--adaptation.

1. Type of occupation in which I am employed

2. Working conditions

3. Quality of work I am accomplishing

4. My competence for the type of work I am doing

5. Quality of personal relations with those with whom I work

6. The social value of my work

7. My work meets most of my strongest needs

8. Amount of freedom and independence available

9. Degree of responsibility I want

10. Amount of recognition of my work from others

11. Salary or income I receive for my work

12. Opportunity for innovation and creativity

13. Way of life associated with my occupation

14. The ethical standards and practices associated with my work

15. Temperamental-personality suitability for my occupation

16. Degree of my personal involvement in and devotion to my work

17. Amount of personal growth I have experienced in my work

18. Status and prestige of my occupation

19. Effects of job on other areas of my life, e.g., marriage, children

20. Job utilizes my best potentials

21. Degree of self-fulfillment I secure from my work

22. My work provides the opportunity to achieve eventually at the level of my potential capability

23. Amount of time I spend on my work

24. Amount of energy my work demands

25. The job serves as the central organizing focus of my life and identity

26. My work is a source of new friends and interests

27. My job provides the opportunity for continued personal growth and satisfaction for most of my working life

28. My relation with my boss or those who have some authority or power over my work

Before exploring the components of a teacher's adaptation and morale, I want to review briefly what I have learned about vocations by studying these 106 professionals as they matured into their early thirties.[2] I found that an adult's vocational adaptation cannot be predicted by high school SAT scores or from academic grades. Well-adapted professionals turned out to have been more mature as

[2]I reported some results of this study in "Adolescent and Adult Predictors of Vocational Adaptation," Journal of Vocational Behavior, September 1976, pp. 1-19.

adolescents: stable, well integrated socially, determined, and independent. As adults, they were more psychologically healthy and competent in meeting their diverse responsibilities. They had warmer relations with those closest to them and with colleagues, perhaps because of their greater empathy. They disagreed less frequently with their spouses about critical decisions, were more happily married, and were better parents.

In general, increasing vocational adaptation was directly related to increasing happiness--one reason an understanding of its components may illuminate the meaning of morale or happiness about one's vocation. Spouses, close friends, and professional colleagues who knew the 106 men independently rated each man on the 28 scales; they consistently agreed with each man's assessment of his own vocational adaptation.

How does the vocational satisfaction of teachers compare to that of other professionals? Very favorably. Neither the 125 male nor the 125 female teachers differed reliably from other professionals in their total score of vocational satisfaction (101 versus 102.8). Interestingly, independent school teachers of both sexes in all types of schools differed very little one from the other in their overall vocational happiness, with one exception: women teaching in boarding schools, whose vocational satisfaction was noticeably less (97.6) than that of women teaching in day schools (103.7).

It was possible statistically to determine which of the 28 attributes contributed most and which least to overall vocational satisfaction. So, if I wanted to shorten the scale to use only those attributes that most powerfully predict a person's overall vocational adaptation, which ones would I use?

Table 1 shows the eight attributes central to what might be called "morale." I have ranked the statistical findings to provide a rough index of relative centrality of the attributes to morale. The column at the far right compares the 106 young professionals'

rank-ordered attributes with those of the 250 independent school teachers. In looking at Table 1, it is important to remember that the degree to which one's occupation "meets one's strongest needs" does not mean that teachers are most satisfied with this aspect of their job. In fact, this attribute--"Meets most of my strongest needs"--so central to a person's morale, ranked about 13th for the teachers in terms of how satisfied they actually were that their jobs fulfilled their strongest needs.

The results shown in Table 1 suggest two very provocative insights. First, teachers do not differ from other professionals in the quality or meaning of vocational satisfaction. The opera singer, the physician, and the teacher--or the business manager--in an independent school share to an extraordinary degree the core attributes that must be satisfied if one is to be well adapted vocationally. Furthermore, being satisfied with teaching means the same thing for both men and women--something heads of schools and boards of trustees should never forget. Teachers whose jobs satisfy their strongest needs, provide opportunities for continued growth, and use their best potentials are better adapted and likely to have higher morale and be happier people.

The second insight concerns the meaning of being a teacher. I frequently ask teachers to identify among the 28 attributes those they believe to be most central to their vocational happiness. Invariably, the items they mention most impetuously are those listed in Table 2. Not until I ask them to reflect about what their vocation means to them do they then identify the attributes listed in Table 1. But Table 2 helps us to sharpen the distinction between teaching as a vocation and teaching as a job. Note that for teachers and other professionals alike the attributes that are least predictive of and contributive to one's vocational satisfaction are largely objective job-related satisfactions or dissatisfactions. What Tables 1 and 2 suggest, then, is that satisfaction about salary and competence, while not unimportant, is much less important to one's vocational

Table 1
Attributes Central to the
Meaning of Vocational Satisfaction

	Rank			
	All teachers	Teachers by sex		Other professionals
		Male	Female	
Meets most of my strongest needs	1[1]	1	4	1
Provides opportunity for continued personal growth and satisfaction for most of my working life	2	2	2.5	4
Job utilizes my best potentials	3	5	1	3
Degree of self-fulfillment I secure from my work	4	4	2.5	2
Way of life associated with my occupation	5	7	6	22
My work provides opportunity to achieve eventually at the level of my potential capability	6	8	5	9
Type of occupation in which I am employed	7	6	12	6.5
Job serves as central organizing focus of my life and identity	8	10	9	8
(Quality of work I am accomplishing)[2]	--	3	26	--
(Degree of responsibility I want)[2]	--	21.5	7	--

[1]Rank of 1 = most powerful predictor of total score.

[2]Included to indicate the 7-8 most powerful predictors for males and females.

Table 2
Attributes Most Peripheral to the
Meaning of Vocational Satisfaction

Attribute	Rank			
	All teachers	Teachers by sex		Other professionals
		Male	Female	
Salary or income I receive for my work	28[1]	28	28	28
My competence for the type of work I am doing	27	26	27	22
Amount of time I spend on my work	26	20	25	26.5
Status and prestige of my occupation	25	25	20	22
The social value of my work	24	24	18.5	18.5
My relation with my boss or with those who have some authority or power over my work	23	18	23	25
Amount of energy my work demands	22	14	24	17.5
Effects of job on other areas of my life, e.g., marriage, children	21	17	22	26.5
(The ethical standards and practices associated with my work)[2]	--	27	11	--
(Quality of personal relations with those with whom I work)[2]		23	16	

[1]Rank of 28 = least powerful predictor of total score.

[2]Included to indicate the 7-8 least powerful predictors for males and females. See Table 1 for the remaining least powerful predictors for each.

morale than the other attributes, particularly those listed in Table 1.

I know experienced teachers in small rural schools who receive $4,500-$7,000 a year who, while not content with such salaries, are in other respects well adapted vocationally. I will quote shortly a public school teacher who left teaching last year because of low morale. Her salary was $24,000.

What surprises many teachers--and me--is how little being satisfied with one's competence contributes to one's overall vocational adaptation. Again, competence is obviously important, but apparently it is not as critical a component of one's morale as satisfaction with other vocational attributes is. Because of their high expectations of themselves, some very committed and vocationally well-adapted teachers may be quite dissatisfied with their technical competence. Tables 1 and 2 suggest that as dissatisfied as teachers may be--with the status of their profession, its salaries, and the energy and time it demands--many will remain teachers as long as they feel that their vocation satisfies their strongest needs, is fulfilling, and provides the opportunity eventually to achieve at their level of potential --the core satisfactions for teachers.

Tables 1 and 2 distinguish between vocation as a calling, a way of life that is deeply integrative and releasing of potentials, and a job as an eight-to-three way of earning a living. That the teachers in David Mallery's workshops are primarily preoccupied with "When does a groove become a rut?" or "How do you keep going when you feel like April but it's only fall midterm?" or "Do I have the nerve to start again?" rather than with revising their courses, reorganizing the school's curriculum, or even earning higher salaries alerts us to the existential nature of the conflict of many teachers today. At the very heart of their morale problem is the question whether teaching is to be a calling or only a temporary way station until a better job comes along. The issue confronted by all, regardless of age, is "What am I going to be?"

As Table 1 indicates, a profession serves as a central organizing focus for one's energy and interests. It provides a useful way of tying one's needs, interests, gifts, and energies to reality in ways that can be deeply fulfilling and contribute to society as well. Tables 1 and 2 tell us that so-called teacher burnout and low morale will not be quickly remedied by massive salary increases, summer workshops to increase competence, or lighter teaching loads. Those things help, but my hunch is that teachers who regard teaching as a calling, and not as a job, need a very different response.

Vocational satisfactions of teachers and other professionals

How satisfied are teachers with the attributes that contribute to vocational adaptation? Are they less satisfied than other professionals?

Several intriguing conclusions can be drawn from Table 3 (pp. 14-15), which reports the vocational attributes that elicited the greatest and the least satisfaction. First, the degree of satisfaction with the various attributes of their vocation among teachers, both men and women, and other professionals is again remarkably and surprisingly similar. Each group is generally "quite satisfied" (a ranking of 4) to "satisfied" (3) with most of the attributes of its vocation.

Second, the pattern of satisfaction is remarkably consistent, not only between teachers and other professionals, but also between male and female teachers. For example, each group was most satisfied with its occupational choice and most dissatisfied with its salary or income--even physicians, lawyers, and several presidents of companies. Thus personal satisfaction is obviously a relative matter.

Third, teachers do differ noticeably from other professionals in the four ways starred in the last column of Table 3. Teachers are far more satisfied

with their relations with the people with whom they work than are other professionals--a significant benefit of teaching. Other professionals, on the other hand, are much more satisfied, though still discontented, with their salaries, the status and prestige of their occupations, and the opportunities their vocations offer for eventually reaching the peak of their potential.

How might these differences cast light on the morale of teachers? Many, particularly those drawn to independent schools, enter teaching for idealistic --certainly not financial--reasons. As Table 3 suggests, they are very satisfied with the social worth of their occupation. Certainly the independent school teachers with whom I am acquainted care deeply about their students; I detect in many of them lingering but guarded hopes that they do have a special contribution to make, not just to their students and schools, but also to society. Some teachers are closet missionaries and social reformers.

What are the rewards that sustain teachers, despite relatively low salaries? Helping a responsive child discover talents and skills, receiving the respect of parents, and as Table 3 indicates, having the freedom and independence to innovate, to continue to grow, and to be part of an ethically concerned profession have long strengthened the commitment of teachers.

But today three of the more important rewards of teaching have become more elusive and uncertain. First, teachers report that the emotional strain of trying to reach and educate youth is greater today than ever before. They say they have to prod and push more intensively to get them to work up to their potential. The teacher I mentioned earlier, the one making $24,000 a year, and teaching fourth grade in an affluent New York suburb, left teaching this past year, claiming that she could no longer take the children's "upheavals, temper tantrums, tears, and withdrawal in the classroom" and parents' demands, defensiveness, and hostility (Forbes, May 1980, p. 35).

Table 3
Principal Sources of Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction about Vocation by Teachers and Other Professionals

Attribute	All teachers		Teachers by sex: Male		Teachers by sex: Female		Other professionals	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Type of occupation in which I am employed	4.2[1]	1	4.2	1	4.3	1	4.2	1
The social value of my work	4.1	2.5	4.0	6	4.1	3	3.8	10
Degree of my personal involvement in and devotion to my work	4.1	2.5	4.1	2.5	4.1	3	3.9	7
My competence for the type of work I am doing	4.0	5	4.1	2.5	4.0	5.5	4.0	3.5
The ethical standards and practices associated with my work	4.0	5	4.0	6	3.9	8.5	4.0	3.5
Temperamental-personality suitability for my occupation	4.0	5	4.0	6	4.1	3	3.8	10
Quality of personal relations with those with whom I work	3.9	8.5	3.9	9	3.9	8.5	3.6	18.5*
Amount of freedom and independence available	3.9	8.5	4.0	6	3.9	8.5	4.0	3.5
Amount of personal growth I have experienced in my work	3.9	8.5	3.8	10	4.0	5.5	4.0	3.5
Opportunity for innovation and creativity	3.9	8.5	4.0	6	3.9	8.5	3.7	13.5

Attribute	All teachers		Teachers by sex				Other professionals	
			Male		Female			
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Salary or income I receive for my work	2.5	28	2.5	28	2.4	28	3.7	27.5*
Amount of time I spend on my work	3.0	26.5	3.2	24.5	2.9	26	3.1	26
Amount of energy my work demands	3.0	26.5	3.2	24.5	2.8	27	3.4	24.5
Effects of job on other areas of my life, e.g., marriage, children	3.1	25	3.0	27	3.1	25	3.0	27.5
Status and prestige of my occupation	3.2	24	3.1	26	3.3	23.5	3.9	7*
The job serves as the central organizing focus of my life and identity	3.3	23	3.4	20.5	3.3	23.5	3.5	22.5
Amount of recognition of my work from others	3.4	20.5	3.4	20.5	3.4	21	3.6	18.5
My work provides the opportunity to achieve eventually at the level of my potential capability	3.4	20.5	3.4	20.5	3.4	21	3.9	7*
My work is a source of new friends and interests	3.4	20.5	3.3	23	3.4	21	3.4	24.5
My job provides the opportunity for continued personal growth and satisfaction for most of my working life	3.4	20.5	3.4	20.5	3.5	19	3.6	18.5

[1]Very satisfied = 5; Very dissatisfied = 1.

*Differences between teachers and other professionals that are statistically significant; indicates differences are highly reliable.

A second reward that used to compensate for low salaries was communal respect and appreciation for teachers. The fourth-grade teacher in the New York suburb said, "Everyone treats us as subservient. In the hierarchy of education the classroom teacher is the lowest on the totem pole. Yet we are held accountable for everything that goes wrong." We seem to have forgotten what Erik Erikson has taught us about a healthy sense of identity. Our vocation should not only integrate our needs, interests, and talents, but have its worth positively confirmed and recognized by others. That teachers are noticeably more dissatisfied than other professionals with their perceived status and prestige means that many are questioning their own identities as well as the worth of what they are doing, their own commitment. It is not surprising that they burn out more easily as their emotional commitment and sense of worth are being eroded as students become less educable. Those having high ideals for their vocation may suffer more severely from intractable students and loss of respect than those whose idealism is more realistically grounded.

A third reward, which may have become more important to teachers over the past 20 years or so but less achievable at the same time, is the opportunity to realize one's potential. Nowadays, more people seem to have higher expectations of themselves and of their relations with others. Might not this commitment to continued self-fulfillment mean that people place special value on the opportunity for change, growth, new experiences, and excitement? Like their students, do teachers seem more impatient with tedium, more readily bored, more ready to give up when the going gets tough? More teachers may be finding, after several years of teaching, that teaching does not provide the rich opportunities and continued growth they had expected. Teaching is one of the few professions that provide almost no visible hierarchy of incentives. Even salaries are based on putting in time, not quality of attainment.

Table 4 gives further clues to low morale among

Table 4
Comparison of Ranks of Attributes
That Contribute to Vocational Satisfaction
and Ranks of Actual Satisfaction

Attribute	Teachers		Other professionals	
	Ranked importance	Rank actual satisfaction	Ranked importance	Rank actual satisfaction
Meets most of my strongest needs	1	13.5	1	13.5
Provides opportunity for growth	2	20.5	4	18.5
Utilizes best potential	3	18	3	18.5
Degree of self-fulfillment	4	13.5	2	13.5
Way of life of occupation	5	11.5	22	13.5
Provides opportunity to achieve	6	20.5	9	7
Type of occupation	7	1	6.5	1
Job as organizing focus of life and identity	8	23	8	22.5

Salary or income	28	28	28	27.5
Competence for work	27	5	22	3.5
Amount of time I spend	26	26.5	26.5	26
Status and prestige of work	25	24	22	7
Social value of work	24	2.5	18.5	10
Relation to authority	23	16	25	26
Amount of energy demanded	22	26.5	17.5	24.5
Effect of job on other areas of life	21	25	26.5	27.5

teachers. It shows how discrepant are the ranks between the core attributes that contribute most and least to morale and the degree of actual satisfaction of teachers and other professionals with such attributes. Presumably, the wider the gap between the two rankings, the more likely the attribute is to be implicated in cases of low morale.

What is of special interest in Table 4 is that both teachers and other professionals are least satisfied with just those objective job-related attributes that do not contribute as much to one's overall vocational adaptation. Of even greater interest, however, is the fact that neither teachers nor other professionals are very satisfied with many of those attributes that contribute most to vocational adaptation, the elusive ones that make a vocation a calling, not a job. Again, my hunch is that the explanation for low morale is to be found in such discrepancies.

Satisfactions and dissatisfactions of male and female teachers

Despite the seeming similarity of feelings of satisfaction with their vocations among men and women teachers and other professionals, there have been scattered hints that men and women teachers may differ in some respects. I have looked to see whether any statistically reliable differences exist in the vocational adaptation of men and women teachers and of boarding and day school teachers.

The meaning of teaching for men and women differed noticeably for only three of the 28 vocational attributes when I analyzed those that were most and least central to morale. Whereas the quality of one's work ranked third as a contributor to overall vocational satisfaction for men, it ranked 26th for women; this difference may reflect the overwhelming importance of achievement to the American male.

Satisfaction with degree of responsibility ranked seventh among women but only 22nd among men, perhaps

mirroring recent changes in women's views about the contribution they could make vocationally if they had the power that responsibility brings. Heads of schools and trustees may need to become more sensitive to the desires of their women teachers for opportunities to exercise greater responsibility.

Finally, as far as satisfaction with the ethical standards and practices associated with their work was concerned, it ranked 10th in importance for women, whereas it was 27th for men. I am not sure why. Might the alleged sensitivity of women to relations with others make them more concerned about ethical implications?

Men and women teachers do not differ reliably in the amount of their satisfaction on 26 out of the 28 vocational attributes. But the women were clearly less satisfied than the men with the amount of time and energy their vocation demanded of them. Most women who have heard this nod in agreement and willingly provide the reason. Married teachers say that, whereas their husbands have one career, they have two--teaching and primary responsibility for home and family. Other data suggest that the majority of women--though perhaps not teachers--may not yet be emotionally willing to share primary responsibility for home and family with their husbands. To the statement "A wife's career is equal in importance to that of her husband," 49 per cent of young women in 1969, but over 90 per cent in 1978, answered "True." But to the statement "I expect my husband to do 50 per cent of all household and child-rearing tasks," 17 per cent in 1969, but only 43 per cent in 1978, answered "True." Perhaps these women were only being realistic, knowing that their husbands would not assume half of this responsibility. Again, schools may need to be more sensitive to the demands they make on the time and energies of their women faculty members. At the same time, married women who want more responsibility may find themselves in conflict about how to allocate their energies and time--unless they can change the characters of their husbands.

I expected to find that teaching had a different meaning for teachers in boarding schools--whose lives are fully occupied, 24 hours a day, with being responsible for adolescents--than those who teach in day schools. This turned out not to be the case; the core attributes found to contribute most to overall vocational satisfaction were the same for both.

Where boarding and day school teachers do differ, very consistently, is in their degree of satisfaction with various aspects of their vocation, as shown in Table 5. Ironically, teachers in day schools are more dissatisfied about the time and energy that their work demands, even though their colleagues in boarding schools must give infinitely greater measures of both. Perhaps people who are drawn to boarding schools anticipate the incessant demands involved and thus express less dissatisfaction.

Further clues about reasons for differences come from more detailed, though more tentative, findings in Table 5. Within boarding schools, male teachers are neither more nor less satisfied than female teachers with respect to almost all of the attributes that contribute to morale. Furthermore, men who teach in boarding and day schools also do not differ from each other. But, as I mentioned earlier, women who teach in boarding schools are demonstrably less satisfied than their counterparts in day schools; they are less satisfied with one third of the 28 attributes that contribute to high morale.

Because I did not anticipate this result, I did not find out which women were married and which women's jobs at school were contingent on those of their husbands. Since the women were not noticeably more dissatisfied with their particular school than the men, I wonder whether the differences may not reflect the more widespread cultural changes in values and expectations of women about their right to create their own identities. Historically, wives of teachers in boarding schools, of school heads, of clergymen, of diplomats, and others have been expected to assume and perform, willingly and without complaint,

Table 5
Sources of Dissatisfaction among Teachers

Teachers - Boarding Schools	vs.	Teachers - Day Schools
Less satisfied with Type of occupation Work meets strongest needs Recognition of work from others Temperamental-personality suitability for work Degree of involvement in and devotion to work		Less satisfied with Amount of time work demands Amount of energy work demands
Male Teachers - Boarding Schools		Female Teachers - Boarding Schools
---		Less satisfied with Amount of energy work demands
Male Teachers - Day Schools		Female Teachers - Day Schools
Less satisfied with Amount of personal growth experienced in work		---
Male Teachers - Boarding Schools		Male Teachers - Day Schools
No reliable differences in satisfaction		
Female Teachers - Boarding Schools		Female Teachers - Day Schools
Less satisfied with Type of occupation Competence for type of work Quality of personal relations with those with whom they work Work meets strongest needs Temperamental-personality suitability for work Recognition of work from others Degree of involvement in and devotion to work Amount of personal growth experienced in work		More satisfied with vocation generally

various functions related to their husbands' positions. In recent years, the State Department has encountered increasing resistance among diplomats' wives to playing traditional social and philanthropic roles. The demands of living intimately with today's adolescents combined with aspirations to create their own independent professional careers may be aggravating restlessness and causing feelings of nonfulfillment in boarding school wives. Given the social forces that are disrupting male-female relations and the dynamics of the extended-family life of boarding schools, heads of those schools would do well to find ways of giving more support to their married faculty members, and especially to the wives who may also be teaching at the school.

Institutional ethos and vocational adaptation

What determines one's vocational adaptation, or, more subjectively, one's morale? I have already identified some of the psychological determinants, such as maturity, of one's level of vocational satisfaction. But other factors obviously also contribute to one's morale.

The pervasive similarity of patterns of satisfaction among the teachers and other professionals studied here, working in many diverse institutions and settings, suggests that national social and cultural values and expectations affect our sense of vocational well-being. We live in a time of pessimism about the future. We lack confidence in our institutions and leaders to provide hope for the future. Our identities are never just personal; they are also social and cultural. Unsettling times on the cultural scene may provoke anxiety about our purpose and self-worth. Teachers are not the only ones troubled by uncertainty; ministers, lawyers, nurses, and other professionals are experiencing similar doubts and concerns, too.

Obviously, the ethos--the character and spirit--and other characteristics of a school can affect the

satisfaction of its faculty. In the last several years, I have worked with schools and colleges that were trying to identify the attributes of their institution that had healthy and unhealthy effects on the development of their students and teachers. Three examples illustrate the kinds of questions our understanding of vocational satisfaction now enables us to ask about our schools.

A small, isolated boarding school asked whether it was achieving its goals and how it could tell whether this was happening. To get at some answers, I surveyed faculty, student, and alumni views of the school. More than 70 per cent of each group agreed that the school was adventurous, caring, friendly, honest, and open. Between 60 and 70 per cent of every group also said it was capable, cheerful, competitive, creative, enthusiastic, happy, helpful, humorous, proud, and sociable--clearly qualities that are not going to block or interfere with growth.

One explicit goal of this school was to encourage growth among its faculty. What kind of faculty would thrive in such a setting? The school's faculty as a group did not differ from other teachers in either its overall vocational satisfaction or in the pattern and amount of its satisfaction. Because I had considerable information about individual teachers, I could determine whether those teachers who were well adapted vocationally differed from those who were less so.

The teachers who were highly satisfied with many aspects of their vocation had friendlier relations with more different types of members of the school community. They were also more committed to the goals of the school, particularly the principal ones of fostering students' personal as well as academic development, encouraging their self-reliance, and working toward their social maturity. Teachers who were poorly adapted vocationally were either quite immature and having trouble adjusting to the intense community life of the school or had very narrow academic commitments and were unhappy with the intellec-

tual accomplishments of their students as well as with the standards of the school. This example suggests that when a school's educational philosophy is rich and complex, then the level of vocational adaptation (and accompanying maturity) of its faculty may be an important part of its commitment to and effectiveness in reaching such goals--which, incidentally, this school apparently did. It was singularly successful in taking uneducable, bored students who had very low self-esteem and opening them to intellectual ideas, sparking their curiosity and improving their self-esteem.

A small coeducational college founded by a male religious order had, within several decades, become a financially stable institution. It attracted more competent students and sent more of its graduates on to graduate and professional schools. According to an accrediting team, however, faculty morale was very low. The administration was concerned but didn't know how to approach the problem.

Between 55 and 70 per cent of the faculty and administration described the college as being conservative, authoritarian, friendly, hardworking, religious, dedicated, defensive, and conventional. The administration but not the faculty also saw the institution as caring, cheerful, considerate, and empathetic. Students agreed with the administration about these qualities. Not many clues to low morale were yet to be found. Hypothesis: The faculty may not realistically perceive some of the strengths of the institution.

The teachers generally were quite satisfied with the 28 attributes of their vocation. They did not differ from other faculties in their mean score or in the pattern of their satisfactions and dissatisfactions. I wondered whether the alleged low morale might be a collective myth. Still no firm clue. Hypothesis: Low morale, if it exists, may have a different meaning in this institution than in others I know.

The patterns of attributes that were the best and worst predictors of the faculty's overall vocational satisfaction told the story, however. The attributes that best predicted the faculty's morale, or lack of it, were its satisfaction with the status and prestige of teaching, effect of the job on other areas of one's life, amount of freedom one's work provided, work as a source of friends, working conditions, and relations with those in authority. The attributes that contributed least to the faculty's overall vocational adaptation included satisfaction with the quality of one's work, one's type of occupation, amount of personal growth experienced from teaching, and the degree of personal involvement in work. The patterns were just the reverse of what has consistently been found for teachers and other professionals. Hypothesis: The faculty views its work more as a job than as a calling, so that job-related rather than self-fulfillment attributes contribute more to its general satisfaction.

Other clues led me to explore the differences between men and women on the faculty. The women were clearly less satisfied than the men with their overall vocational adaptation. Specifically, they were more dissatisfied about their type of occupation, their opportunity for personal growth, achieving at their level of highest potential, time and energy demands of their work, and the way of life of their occupation. Hypothesis: The women faculty members feel estranged from the institution's goals, style, and procedures.

One other seemingly trivial but highly symbolic clue appeared in the college catalogue, which stated repeatedly that the mission of the college was to prepare its students to become "Christian men." Hypothesis: A vigorous, driving, efficient, dominant and dominating male religious order and administration had created a college whose masculine orientation alienated its women faculty members and more generally prevented its faculty from participating in decision-making. Hence the faculty did not feel

"ownership" of the institution and might even have perceived what was genuine concern on the part of the administration to be manipulation. Under these circumstances, the college became a place to earn a living rather than a place for professional growth and fulfillment for a significant number of the faculty, particularly its women members.

While my hypotheses may not have been correct, they did provoke other questions not previously considered that led to a clearer understanding of faculty malaise at this college.

The third example is a K-12 independent coeducational day school. I know almost nothing about it except that two thirds of the staff are women and what I have learned from examining its ethos and the vocational morale of its faculty. The school is unlike any other I know well, because its faculty is in extraordinary agreement about what the school is like--to a degree that almost suggested collusion among the faculty as they completed our survey. More than 80 per cent of the faculty described the school as being cooperative, conscientious, capable, cheerful, friendly, helpful, adaptable, caring, dedicated, considerate, good-natured, warm, and having common sense.

The faculty's overall satisfaction as well as the pattern of its satisfactions and dissatisfactions are very similar to those reported in the tables here. For most of the faculty of this school, teaching is obviously a deep calling. Intriguingly, the women on the faculty differ markedly from the men in being much more satisfied about their choice of occupation and the amount of responsibility they have. Teachers who have taught more than 10 years--as contrasted with those who have taught for a shorter time--are more satisfied with their salaries, their opportunity to be creative and innovative in their work, and the quality of their relations with their colleagues.

Given such a seemingly healthy growth-inducing environment, why is the faculty's level of satisfaction

with its vocation only typical of that of other faculties and not considerably higher?

Does the school have such a strong "maternal" cooperative, caring, and considerate faculty that the sparks and spurs to growth that tolerable levels of friction and conflict bring are missing for both faculty and students?

Are faculty members too similar temperamentally and in their values to be able to provoke and challenge students and one another? Just how intellectually rich, exciting, and tough-minded is the school? Can young teachers argue and dissent and have an effect? Or does an informal network among the older teachers support them but subtly suppress the innovative questioning of the younger ones?

Why are the teachers who have taught less than 10 years more dissatisfied with their salaries than any other faculty about which I have information? Are salaries really as low as their discontent suggests, or have salaries become a worry displaced from other aspects of their relation to the school that cannot be shared with such warm, cooperative, and considerate colleagues?

What have we learned about the vocational satisfactions of teachers up to this point? Independent school teachers are very similar to other professionals in their patterns and amount of satisfaction with different attributes of their vocation. The attributes that contribute most signally to vocational adaptation and happiness are not those easily satisfied by the quick "fixes" of increased salaries, better working conditions, or even increased competence and reduced teaching loads. Rather, the core attributes are those central to personhood--the identity, the personal meanings, and the hopes of teachers. The vocational satisfactions of men and women are very similar. Specific institutional settings and climates affect one's morale in different ways. The life of the boarding school may accentuate conflicts that women, in particular, may feel about

their changing roles and opportunities. When a vocation no longer provides satisfying intrinsic satisfactions that make it a calling, then extrinsic rewards, like salaries, working conditions, hours, and control over duties, become increasingly significant.

When this happens, a vocation becomes less central to one's identity and begins to acquire the attributes of drudgery. I believe that today's teachers are caught in a psychological bind. They see some of the intrinsic rewards that brought them to teaching beginning to erode. And the extrinsic rewards to which they would ordinarily turn for psychological compensation are becoming less and less available: money, status, recognition, and limited teaching loads and numbers of students that might reduce the demands on their time and energy. It is no wonder that these job-related attributes have become the focal point of unionization and bargaining efforts of teachers as teaching becomes more and more just a job. Thus it is understandable why obtaining benefits through bargaining apparently does not improve morale over the long haul, if we are to believe the results of the National Education Association poll cited on page 1.

Implications for teachers, administrators, and trustees

Margaret Mead once said, "A clear understanding of a problem prefigures its lines of solution." For decades, conventional understanding of how to create better schools has suggested to those in power building large schools with magnificent swimming pools and audio-visual facilities, upgrading their libraries, modernizing the curriculum, and sending teachers back to school during the summer. Pursuing cognitive development into some of its more obscure corners, researchers have proposed alternative reading procedures, analyzed the classroom behavior of teachers, and urged us to nurture the child's positive self-concept. Teachers have experimented with behavioral objectives--frequently under duress--encouraged

programs for the gifted, if they could teach them, grudgingly tried computer-assisted instruction, and continued to respect and teach the three R's as they always have done. Parents have plunked their three-year-old children down in front of "Sesame Street," bought educational toys, paid to get their children into the nearby prestigious nursery school that opens the door to the nearby prestigious elementary school that opens the door . . . to a $150,000 annual salary . . . to a stroke at the age of forty-nine.

Are we satisfied with the results of our efforts to create healthier schools and more mature adults? If not, then is our understanding of what contributes to better schools less than clear?

My understanding of how to create a better school tells me to find ways to empower teachers to grow, to become adapted vocationally, to become more alive as they become more technically competent and experienced. What practicable "lines of solution" does this suggest? How do we nurture teaching so that it will be a calling, not just a job?

Implications for teachers. Nothing saps the morale and commitment of caring teachers more than feeling that they are not reaching and awakening their students to their potentials. Not to see students change and grow undermines one's sense of worth. Because students increasingly differ so widely in their psychological readiness and intellectual abilities to learn, teachers may derive even less satisfaction from their work as a result. Teachers must be equipped with more sophisticated diagnostic skills for understanding today's students and their needs and be helped to respond more imaginatively. I am not talking about yet another course in child development. I am talking about intensive workshops, perhaps using case studies of individual students, to improve sensitivity to others, powers of observation, perceptivity, empathy, and "psychological-mindedness."

Continued commitment to teaching in the face

of diminishing rewards does not depend on a few favored teaching techniques. Instead, it is deeply centered in genuinely felt values about the goals and principles of effective growth that nurture that intuitive sense of how to respond when one's usual techniques are not reaching a class or a student. To command a variety of techniques is not unimportant; but to be bound to them is to be doomed to impotence when they inevitably do not "work" for the next class. Teachers need command of more internalized principles about teaching that liberate imagination for creating new techniques when they are needed. It is far more important, for example, to "own" the principle of creating climates of trust in our classrooms than it is to "own" only a specific technique by which to initiate a class that first day of school.

The tables show that teachers were more dissatisfied with the opportunities their work offered for fulfilling their potential. One reason teachers feel "stale" stems from the narrow definition of their role: impart the information of their discipline. To teach and reteach essentially the same thing to four classes a day year in and year out can be deadening. Teachers need more challenging purposes for themselves than being simply didactic dispensers of information, which was more appropriate to the monks at the University of Bologna than to the future of videodisks and cassettes, telecommunications and computer resources.

If teachers thought of themselves as empowering their students to become more self-educating, then they might be willing to risk working together with students as colleagues on topics about which they themselves would like to know more but about which they are not expert. By working side by side with their teachers, might not students become excited, develop confidence in educating themselves, and become more open to learning from others at the same time?

I challenge teachers to identify their interests and potential to decide how they also need to grow

in their schools, and then create a classroom environment that will educe that potential in themselves as well as in their students. It is always better to risk being a model of aliveness than of deadness, even if it means not making it to the two last chapters of the deadening textbook.

Implications for heads. As perceptive school heads have always known, faculty morale depends on more than salaries, opportunities for improving one's competence, and working conditions. Because such elements as "way of life" and "self-fulfillment" are so hard to define, heads need to create ways to help teachers articulate just what their "strongest needs" are. Heads would do far better to inspire teachers to reflect on how they might create a climate in their school and classrooms that would foster their growth as well as their students'. After all, the head of the school must be just as concerned about the personal growth of faculty members as they are about the growth of their students.

A head once told me, "I don't believe in massaging the egos of my faculty. They are old enough to stand on their own two feet." Needless to say, the faculty in that school was seriously demoralized, as were the students, toward whom the faculty acted similarly. Teachers receive remarkably little appreciation from students, and even less from colleagues. Like all human beings, teachers need to know that people have concern for them as individuals in their own right. Sensitive heads who create strong morale and deep loyalties in their teachers know that.

Heads also need to know when it is time to stimulate too contented and "successful" a faculty into thinking again about its goals and getting to work on achieving them. Because few faculties ever search out the long-term effects of their teaching, they seldom receive the necessary information that might prod them to reflect on why they teach what they do and how they teach it. The two skills I most often find lacking in teachers are the ability to reflect on the possible effect their teaching styles and

strategies can have on students and the ability to carry out schoolwide goals in the classroom. When I hear teachers demanding new methods and techniques, I know that they don't have much imagination about how to reach goals.

Heads increasingly are acknowledging the effect of the emotional demands and frustrations of teaching on the personal lives of teachers, particularly those in boarding schools. Another issue that surfaces as one of the "strongest needs" in faculty workshops is that of sexual roles--how males and females are to grow beyond the traditional, confining definitions of masculinity and femininity--and what the answers imply for how today's faculties are teaching today's students. My hunch is that greater faculty growth will occur by enabling teachers to confront such real issues in their lives than by offering them only another workshop on teaching the learning-disabled.

Implications for boards of trustees. Trustees need to be far more concerned than they now are about the morale of teachers and the head of the school as well as about the climate of the school. A board's highest priority should be to provide for the continued growth of its head and faculty, always asking, of a pending decision, "How might this strengthen the commitment of our teachers to teaching as a calling?" Boards would do well to take the initiative in getting objective information about faculty satisfaction as well as teachers' "strongest needs." This is not to say that trustees are not thoughtful, concerned people; what they need now is to identify the more powerful questions to ask of their schools.

Boards need to check constantly to see that their perception of their schools resembles that of the faculty and of the students. I am always surprised to find how many trustees do not know their school from the inside out; most of them know it only from the outside in. Trustees might consider following some of the same procedures I have used with teachers to see whether their perception of the school's

ethos is similar. In turn, teachers need to feel that their "bosses" understand what it means to be a teacher in the school.

Finally, trustees need to remind themselves constantly that the morale of the school's head is just as much their responsibility as faculty morale is the head's job. The way trustees deal with a new head often gives that head an unconscious signal of how to deal with the faculty. And how the head deals with the faculty often affects how teachers work with students. So concern for personal growth and caring really begins with the board.

To create better schools, we must first ask the right questions about them and ourselves. Surely we need teachers for whom teaching is a calling, not just a job. A clearer understanding of vocation as a calling may prefigure some "lines of solution" to the problem of teacher morale, burnout, and vocational adaptation.